HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO BROWNELL TO GRANT BAIL TO CEDRIC BELFRAGE?

Big Five minus one equals Big Four

This young fellow knows something that John Foster won't admit: you can't exclude China forever. But, as they say in Brooklyn when the Dodgers lose the World Series, wait'll next year. Meanwhile Washington's psychological warriors are getting up a head of steam to belittle the Big Four talks before they begin. They have nothing to fear but co-existence itself.

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EDITOR'S DEPORTATION FIGHT

Belfrage case is argued in Appeals Court; editor begins 2d month in jail

By John T. McManus

THE COURT FIGHT to free Cedric Belfrage and halt deportation proceedings against him continued last week as the GUARDIAN editor began his second month in the Federal House of Detention.

On June 6-7 a Circuit Court of Appeals bench of Justices Harrie Chase, Sylvester J. Ryan and Charles E. Clark, presiding, heard arguments for resumption of bail, under which Belfrage had been at liberty since June 15, 1953. Belfrage's lawyers—Nathan Dambroff, Blanch Freedman and Gloria Agrin—also argued for reversal of a District Court decision by Judge Archie O. Dawson during the last week in May, affirming the validity of a deportation order under which Belfrage was arrested as he left his New York home the morning of Friday, May 13.

DECISION DELAYED: Following the June 6-7 argument, government attorney Harold Raby and the defense were directed to file briefs by Wed., June 15, covering the issue of bail and the appeal from Judge Dawson's ruling. In June, 1953, Circuit Court Justice Clark upheld an order of Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld freeing Belfrage in $5,000 bail. The full court concurred in December, 1953. Immigration Dept. hearings begun nine months later resulted in a deportation order which was upheld by the Board of Immigration Appeals May 12 of this year. Belfrage was seized the next morning.

Belfrage is the only political deportee now being held in a federal prison. His health and spirits are good although he has visibly lost weight. He is assigned to clerical work in the prison hospital ward. Visits are limited to his wife and daughter, his attorneys and GUARDIAN executive editor James Aronson.

GOVT. CHALLENGED: The proceedings last week were brief and even hurried, since the Circuit Court bench involved is now completing its sittings until fall. On Monday, June 6, GUARDIAN readers and friends filled all available seats in the courtroom at Foley Square as attorney Blanch Freedman argued for Belfrage's release in bail. A printed 34-page ap-

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WAR & PEACE

New cold front against Russia planned

WASHINGTON'S COOLNESS to Big Four talks at the summit (the West has suggested they take place July 18-21 at Geneva) is becoming increasingly plain. Secy. Dulles and Bonn Chancellor Adenauer—who is coming to the U.S. this month "to urge President Eisenhower to take a tough stand with the Russians" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 5/25)—are maneuvering to create a "united" Western front against the U.S.S.R. before the talks.

As Washington revealed that preliminary talks among the Western powers will take place in New York June 16-17, Dulles expressed doubt that the talks with Moscow will relax tension, urged the American people "to live as a nation that is imperiled"; Vice President Nixon told the Rotarians (6/2) that "the men in the Kremlin will be on trial before the world" at this "last chance" conference and called the recent Soviet disarmament proposals "full of booby traps."

WHAT MORE? Noting Washington's mood, London's **New Statesman** (6/4) commented:

"At this stage, the Russians—and the Chinese—may reasonably ask what further proof of good intentions they are expected to give in advance. The Soviet Government has signed an Austrian treaty [and] has gone a long way to meet the Western view on disarmament; and the Chinese have not merely begun the release of detained U.S. airmen but have also soft-pedalled their agitation about the off-shore islands and Formosa. The West has not indicated where it is prepared to match Communist concessions."

Washington's reluctance may be attributed to the fact that its "policy of strength" remains inflexible on the issues sure to come up at the conference—Germany, China, disarmament—although circumstances have changed radically. The U.S. has based its policy on a rearmed W. Germany in Europe and a rearmed Japan in the Far East, both controlled by Washington, but neither of these projects is working out as planned.

GERMANY FOR GERMANS: W. Germany, having become economically the strongest power in W. Europe, has begun to follow a German policy rather than an American or British one, just as critics of Washington's German policy have long predicted it would. A Tory delegate to the recent meeting of the Anglo-German Assn. in the Rhineland was quoted by the London **Economist** as exclaiming that he

". . . had heard of rats leaving the sinking ship but never of them deserting one that had just been launched. But that was the impression gained by the British from the Germans at the meeting—that they were planning to leave the Western alliance before the ink on it was dry."

Nation correspondent Carolus warned (6/4) that

". . . the Western powers should not underestimate the increasing desire of the Germans for reunification. What today is a comparatively mild breeze blowing from Vienna may tomorrow turn into a storm that will sweep away all the West's illusions. With Adenauer, the last barrier will fall and he is now 80 years old."

HOW JAPAN FEELS: Japan, beset by economic problems and attracted by the possibilities unfolded at Bandoeng, is getting ready to establish normal re-

(Continued on Page 4)

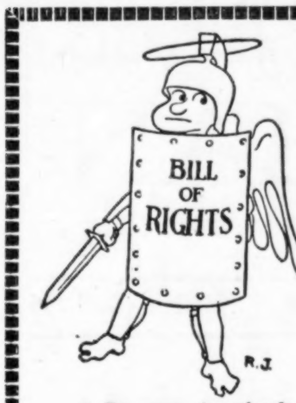
TWO BRITISH VIEWS ON THE DRIVE TO REARM WESTERN GERMANY.

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Of course it wouldn't suit YOU, Gretchen!"

Drawing [illegible]

"Never mind what we said ten years ago; he's got to have it back now!"



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THE MAIL BAG

The Belfrage Case

WINFIELD, KANS.

Jess Miller was in to see me last evening (I work in a local tavern-poolhall). I said: "Belfrage is sure catching it." He said: "Yes, it makes me feel very sad. Not so much for what they are doing to him in particular, but that such a thing could happen in our great country."

Here is another buck. They come hard, but the GUARDIAN is one of our children and we don't propose to be partial with any of them. Elmer Stratton

●

ST. LOUIS, MO.

We stand with you. We are certain that other people's papers will rally behind you.

Joseph Hoffman
Editor, "The Trumpet"

Two men

LONDON, ENGLAND

Two items of news have come in today: the Appeal of Claude Williams and Cedric Belfrage in jail.

Here are two men. I nearly wrote "outstanding men" but the truth is that what is outstanding about them is that they are men. They do not run for cover at the first blast of propaganda in favor of international bloodshed; they do not turn somersaults so soon as somebody proposes to interrogate them. Indeed, whatever happens they stand for what they believe and stand for it publicly, however many people all around them are giving way to graft, corruption, selfishness or just plain cowardice.

Such men are needed desperately today. But has America alone no such need? Has the Presbyterian Church alone no such need?

It is by actions such as this that the American state and certain American churches stagger the world today. This persecution of honest men is an attempt to kill the soul of America. And those today in foreign countries who are horrified by it are not the enemies of America; they are the real friends. (Rev.) Stanley Evans

Radioactivity

WASHINGTON, KANS.

According to a recent radio report, water at Columbia, Mo., was being tested to determine the extent to which it was radioactive as a result of fall-out from the recent A-bomb test. While on the increase, the activity had not yet reached the "danger point." According to the authority quoted cisterns and farm ponds are subject to such contamination.

How are the millions of people using water from cisterns or those whose livestock are drinking from farm ponds to know when their water supply has reached the "danger point?"

It is now well-established scientifically that subjection to unnatural radioactivity by humans is apt to produce cancer and that plants and animals so subject are affected biologically, in that the percentage of "sport" or monstrous offspring is greatly increased. This tendency may show up more in succeeding generations than in the generation directly affected.

Some medical authority has recently warned that the effect of a minute increase above natural radioactivity may be the "slight push" needed to cause many persons to have leukemia (cancer of the blood). No intelligent person will deny the damning evidence of the unexplained increase in cancer in recent years.

Must we—today's atomic guinea pigs—because of our lethargy answer for tomorrow's increased number of monstrous and imbecile human beings caused by this fiendish, insane practice?

Will the American people continue to be lulled by the swan song that the A-bomb tests are for our "protection," or will they, before it is too late, wake up and replace the war-mad psychopaths now toying with this diabolical device, with men of reason, humanity and wisdom? Ernest B. Benne

How crazy can you get dept.

EAST BERLIN — The listless girl with the straggly hair and no makeup wore a drab, serviceable black smock. As she picked up some plain, gray-white china dishes, she flicked a finger at the edge of each. There was a ringing sound to prove no crack. . . .

That's what it's like when you are a dispirited shopper in the Communist-operated department store of East Berlin.

George Grim, staff writer in Minneapolis Tribune, May 26.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: James Erickson, Minneapolis.

Photos of Marc

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Vito Marcantonio Memorial is preparing, for fall publication, an illustrated volume of selections from the political and legal speeches and writing of the late Congressman Marcantonio.

The Memorial would very much appreciate it if anyone who has such photographs taken during the past 30 years would send them to Mrs. Miriam Marcantonio, 231 E. 116th St., New York.

All such loans will be promptly and gratefully returned.

Annette T. Rubinstein

The forward look

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I won't say we can't afford it because we must ($10 enclosed). Our two youngsters as they lay in their cribs tonight demanded it of us.

Our fervent prayer: That we shall never look back upon the GUARDIAN, but always look forward to it! J. B.

A limit to fear

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It took real "bigness" and courage for the top Russian leaders to go to Belgrade in an effort to negotiate. It is difficult to imagine the leaders of the American or British Government confessing to the errors of their country in its dealing with a weaker nation.

Much is being said about the determination of Communist nations to control the world, but nothing is said about the determination of the so-called free nations (meaning principally the U. S.) to perpetuate colonialism, imperialism and capitalism, which mean the exploitation of the darker people and keeping them in subjugation.

Much is also being said about the size of the Russian army. What about the size of the U.S. fleet? After all, armies may menace only their neighbors, but a navy can menace every other nation that can be reached by water.

It is my opinion that the war scare and threats emanating from our country is propaganda designed to stimulate war production and continue the "prosperity" and full employment (?) we are now enjoying. But there is a limit to this, and sooner or later this country must recognize the inevitability of co-existence and reconcile itself to peaceful competition to show whether our way of life or the Communist way can provide humanity with the highest standard of living ever known. Africanus

For what you want

ALTADENA, CALIF.

On the question as to how the ALP and Progressive Party are to function, all of the arguments for working with the Democrats as far as possible have been very convincing, and well would it be if we could have a broad front.

But I have been perhaps even more directly impressed by letters such as the one in which the writer states that she would rather vote for what she wanted and not get it than to vote for something she didn't want and get it. It would seem that even though the PP could not get on the ballot it might, in the end, serve the situation better meanwhile to hold up the people's end as an uncompromising advocate for something really worth while.

I would favor the broad democratic front idea only if it could be really progressive as well, i.e., the Democrats could be depended upon to support it as such. Of course socialism eventually is the only solution, as should be clear to everyone. Howard Koehl

Carrefour, Paris

"I forgot my parachute."

Salt Lake murder case

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

The state which killed Joe Hill has for the fifth time set an execution date (July 1) for Don Jesse Neal, 33, convicted of slaying a Salt Lake City police officer. In the narrow sense, the case has no political significance; yet obviously, where justice is at stake, political factors are involved.

Attorney Herbert M. Levy of New York, representing Neal on behalf of the ACLU, maintains, according to the Salt Lake Tribune, that the fatal shot was fired by Wilma Tully, Neal's companion. Levy charged that the state was aware of this fact. (At the time of the slaying, Mr. Neal's hands were in handcuffs behind his back.)

Public feeling about the case is running high, but apparently no organized effort has been made locally in Neal's behalf. A letter which I submitted to the Tribune Public Forum was not published, my first contribution so treated in 15 years. Other letters have been likewise ignored, fortifying the appearance of injustice and/or conspiracy in the case.

If further attempts to publish are unsuccessful, no avenue of communication is open. Possibly interested GUARDIAN readers in Utah, outside of Salt Lake City, might be able to publish letters in their local papers.

While such grave doubts remain in the public mind, the conviction should not be left unchallenged.

Ethel C. Hale

THIS ISSUE

Pardon our appearance this week. A shortage of our regular-sized newsprint — after the issue had been made up—necessitated the use of longer paper and therefore deeper margins. We'll trim our skirts back to normal next week.

Coo, Mr. Dulles

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A Boid of Peace
I ain't yet
With horse feathers
Ever met.

Lawrence Gellert

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The Belfrage case

(Continued from Page 1)

peal brief challenged the government's reliance on Belfrage's resort to the Fifth Amendment as reason for denying bail, stating:

> The assertion by Belfrage of his rights under the Fifth Amendment . . . was seized upon by the government as a device to overcome its total failure to rebut any of Belfrage's affirmative testimony and its total failure to submit any evidence in support of the grounds which it claimed formed a 'reasonable foundation' for Belfrage's detention.

The argument characterized the government's presentation as "wild charges . . . supported by mystery-filled adjectives," crossing "the shadowy boundary between 'cloak-and-dagger' and 'cock-and-bull.'"

QUICK SUMMARY: At the conclusion of Monday's argument, the Court ordered submission of briefs without further argument, not only on bail but on the appeal from Judge Dawson's decision affirming the deportation order. This would have put the Belfrage attorneys at great disadvantage, since they had not yet received a copy of Judge Dawson's decision. A copy was obtained Monday afternoon, whereupon the attorneys obtained permission to argue the main appeal the next morning in advance of submitting briefs.

In Tuesday's argument, Dambroff summed up in less than 25 minutes, including several exchanges with Justices Chase and Clark, the material originally presented in a 2½-hour argument before the Board of Immigration Appeals.

EVIDENCE OFFERED: As proof that the deportation order was not based on "reasonably substantial and probative evidence" as required under the law, Dambroff stressed the following:

● Martin Berkeley, one of the two informers appearing against Belfrage, said he identified Belfrage with a Communist Party card name of George Oakden some time in 1940. Yet the defense offered in evidence a copy of **New Masses** for 1938, in which an article appeared "by George Oakden and Martin Porter," the latter being Berkeley's own admitted CP name. "Berkeley is the only one who knows who George Oakden is, and he knows that it is not Belfrage," Dambroff declared.

● In the conflict of testimony of two handwriting experts, one presented by the FBI, the other by the defense, the Immigration Dept. based its conclusions on "dissimilarities rather than similarities" between Belfrage's handwriting and that submitted as George Oakden's on CP membership cards of 1937-38. The expert called by Belfrage, Elizabeth McCarthy of Cambridge, Mass., one of the most noted in the country, testified that it was impossible to identify the two handwritings as the same.

● Berkeley, in identifying Belfrage as "George Oakden," said he attended a small CP meeting at Belfrage's home on Oakden Drive at which need for funds for Commonwealth College was presented by the Rev. Claude Williams. Williams testified that on his only visit to Belfrage in Hollywood, he attended a large meeting of 75 or more people, where funds were collected for Commonwealth College, at Belfrage's home at 7777 Firenze Av. Williams had never known of a Belfrage address on Oakden Drive.

SQUEAK OF A MOUSE: The government opened its case against Belfrage with "a roar," "bellowing like lions" about espionage, subversion, etc., and ended up "with a squeak not worthy of a mouse," Dambroff declared. He pointed out that the government case contained "not one shred of evidence against Belfrage going beyond 1938" and this based on unsupported testimony such as Berkeley's.

The brief due June 15 will present the entire appeal, with a request for immediate bail bending final judicial determination of the case as a whole.

●

More than 2,000 GUARDIAN readers have already responded by mail to our appeal of May 16, asking for additional help to fight the Belfrage Case and see the paper through the summer.

We are deeply appreciative of this quick and generous response from a scant 5% of our subscribers. We urge the rest to do likewise. As an example of how the costs run up (and how rapidly!), our 34-page brief, with appendix, appealing for bail, cost as much to print as a whole issue of the GUARDIAN. Full briefs due June 15 will cost even more, and this without counting fees and other legal expenses.

Please let us have your help, NOW.

A HISTORIC STEP TOWARD THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

The Ford-UAW 3-year contract—what it means to workers

By Lawrence Emery

AT MID-DAY Monday, June 6, under threat of a company-wide strike, UAW president Walter Reuther and Ford Co. spokesman John S. Bugas announced a three-year union agreement which, for the first time in any industry, provides company-financed payments to laid-off workers. Both men described the pact as history-making.

Asked by newsmen, "Who won?" Reuther replied, "We both won." In addition to company recognition of responsibility to its own unemployed, the new contract contains union gains in automatic annual wage increases based on increased productivity, a better pension plan, better vacation pay, an improvement in the cost-of-living escalator clause, a seventh paid holiday, triple pay for holiday work, wage increases for several categories of skilled workers, and improvement in insurance and health plans. Reuther called it the biggest package ever negotiated by his union.

JOHN S. BUGAS
He wanted some partners

GOES TO MEMBERS: Although the company failed to win any of 34 concessions it originally demanded in the working agreement, the union also failed to achieve any drastic improvement in working conditions, grievance procedure and control of speed-up. But Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600 and frequently a critic of Reuther, told a demonstration of Ford workers at the River Rouge plant:

"With the exception of two or three items, we changed every item we wanted changed."

The contract now must be ratified by the membership voting in secret ballot.

The company's "Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Plan" falls far short of the union's original demand for a Guaranteed Annual Wage but is generally regarded as a recognition in principle of the union's plan and a historic first step in that direction.

WHAT IT PROVIDES: The Ford Co. has agreed to set up within the next three years a fund of $55,000,000 to be financed by paying into it five cents an hour for each hour worked by its employes. A laid-off worker, after a one-week waiting priod, will be paid by the company a sum which, added to his state unemployment benefits, will equal 65% of his take-home pay for the first four weeks. Thereafter the sum would equal 60% of his take-home pay for a maximum of 26 weeks. Under certain conditions, the 65% level will be maintained for eight weeks. Payments will maintain the 65-60% ratio in all parts of the country regardless of local wage levels or size of state benefits.

President Henry G. Ritter 3d of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers said he was "much disappointed" in the Ford agreement and saw it as "perhaps leading to a socialistic state and controlled economy." But news of the pact sent quotations on the N. Y. Stock Exchange to new record highs.

REUTHER LIKES IT: The agreement was announced after seven weeks of negotiations which went into marathon round-the-clock sessions over the week-end. The end came nearly twelve hours after a Sunday-midnight strike deadline. Some 68,000 of the total 140,000 Ford workers left their jobs in plants and parts depots around the country without an official strike call; their action removed any doubt of the willingness of Ford workers to man the picket lines for their demands.

As weary negotiators came out of their meeting room, Reuther told newsmen the union had "a good agreement" and said that total gains and benefits won added up to more than 20c an hour per worker.

With a Ford agreement reached, interest shifted to union talks with General Motors, which have been in progress several weeks. At the time of the Ford settlement there had been no public announcement of what progress, if any, was being made, but it was taken for granted that GM would at least match the terms agreed to by Ford. The GM contract was due to expire at midnight, Tuesday, June 7.

LAY-OFFS LOOM: With the principle of partial pay during lay-off periods accepted by Ford, it was assumed that the demand would be pressed not only throughout auto but in other mass production industries as well. The need for some such protection was dramatized during the last hours of the Ford negotiations with the announcement by the American Motors Corp. that it was laying off indefinitely 3,400 workers in two Wisconsin cities. Chrysler is the next big automotive company to go into negotiations with the UAW; its contract expires Aug. 23.

Originally the UAW had demanded lay-off payments equal to 100% of workers' take-home pay, but as negotiations went into the last stretch it reduced this to 80%. The final agreement represented a compromise on both sides.

WALTER REUTHER
We both won

The company's offer to set up a $55,000,000 fund was accepted; the dispute thereafter was over the size and duration of payments during lay-offs. A union proposal to arbitrate this matter was rejected by the company and for a time a strike seemed inevitable.

"PROSPERITY PLAN" NIXED: Before the company gave in on the wage demand, it had a counter-proposal of its own. Chief features were a scheme to permit Ford workers to buy limited amounts of Ford stock at half price; a loan system under which laid-off workers could borrow money from the company without interest, to be repaid by pay-envelope deductions when re-employed; and a form of severance pay for workers permanently laid off through no fault of their own. The union rejected this as "unfair, unjust and unacceptable" but the company for two days straight plugged for it in full-page ads in major U. S. newspapers and in letters to each of its employes.

When Bugas said that a poll of Ford workers showed they favored his "Partnership in Prosperity" plan over the UAW demands, Reuther offered to put the matter to a vote of Ford employes, the result to be binding on both sides. Thereafter the "partnership" plan was not mentioned again.

Another major bargaining session was scheduled to begin Tues., June 7, in Pittsburgh, between the CIO steel workers union and the major steel companies. Under an existing contract, only wages can be discussed at this time. Steel union president David McDonald has announced he will demand a "substantial" increase, but has refused to say how much.

THE BELZONI LYNCHING

2 witnesses, friend of murdered preacher forced to flee Mississippi; FBI 'studies'

FOLLOWING THE GANGLAND STYLE lynching of the Rev. G. W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., two witnesses of the murder and a close friend of the victim have been forced to flee the state.

Defying terror by the newly-formed white Citizens Councils, Rev. Lee had been among the first Negroes in Humphreys County to pay his poll tax and register to vote. Despite threats he refused to tear up his tax receipt, kept his name on the register. On May 7 he was shot to death at the wheel of his car by assailants in a speeding convertible (GUARDIAN 6/6).

EVERYBODY KNOWS: Dr. A. H. McCoy, president of the Mississippi branch of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said last week that the occupants of the murder car were well-known to everyone in Belzoni. Sheriff Ike Shelton has so far insisted that the killers must be Negro, and has questioned only Negroes on the "theory" that "Lee was a lady's man."

Rev. James H. Hargrove, a friend of Rev. Lee's and, like him, a local leader of the NAACP, attended the funeral of the slain man, then fled Mississippi, leaving behind his wife Mamie and their ten daughters.

Rev. Hargrove had felt the anti-Negro economic warfare now waged by the Citizens Councils throughout the deep South. Since the first of the year his credit has been frozen. The decision to flee came after a friend told him he had overheard two white men say that "Hargrove was likely to follow the Rev. Mr. Lee if he didn't quit working for the NAACP."

NO ACTION: Two witnesses of the murder have also been forced to flee the state. Miss Ozelia White, a Negro substitute school teacher, has not yet been found. NAACP officials turned up Alex Hudson in East St. Louis, Ill., and persuaded him to tell his eye-witness account of the shooting to the FBI.

No action has yet been taken by governmental authorites either to track the lynchers or halt the terror. The FBI is continuing its investigation to see if a Federal statute has been violated. No word has come from Washington.

Questions

HARTFORD, CONN.

Since conscience-stricken paid informers have confessed they gave false testimony which convicted and jailed innocent people, is it not time that amnesty be granted to all political prisoners so unjustly framed? And since this false testimony was prepared by government officials, should not these government officials be jailed instead of the innocent victims? Should not all persons threatened with deportation and all organizations listed as subversive be freed of harrasment or given new trials since the Justice Dept. has been proved so unreliable?

Should not Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover who worked with these false men be held responsible for such miscarriage of justice? Was it not their duty to correct or prevent it? What have they done to right wrongs? Jefferson II

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

The great unwashed

CP REGISTRATION IS TEST CASE

Supreme Court will review the Internal Security Act

THE SUPREME COURT on May 31 agreed to consider the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act which was passed by Congress five years ago over President Truman's veto. The case accepted for review is an order by the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under the law, that the Communist Party must register as a "Communist-action organization" under the domination of a foreign power. The order directs the CP to file a complete list of its officers and members and make a full accounting of its funds. If the law is upheld, each day of failure to register will constitute a separate offense, each punishable by up to five years in prison and $10,000 fines. The CP has announced it will never comply.

A DANGER TO ALL: The case is expected to be argued before the Supreme Court during its next session in October. The SACB order was made in 1954 after 14 months of hearings which produced a record of 15,000 pages. It was upheld on Dec. 23 of that year by a two to one decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals.

In a 131-page petition for review filed with the Supreme Court on April 13 this year, CP attorneys John Abt and Joseph Forer argued that

> ". . . if the order of the Board becomes final, the civil and criminal penalties which the Act imposes on individuals for membership [in the CP] will be extended far beyond those who are its members."

The petition lists ten major questions it asks the Court to pass upon and challenged the SACB order on several other counts. It attacks the government's paid-informer system and cites particularly Harvey Matusow who has since declared he lied in his testimony before the Board during the CP hearings.

TINGED AND TAINTED: The petition points out that the sweep and scope of the original Internal Security Act has been vastly extended by passage last year of the Communist Control Act which adds the category of "Communist-infiltrated" organizations to those already proscribed ("action" and "front") and sets up criteria for identifying "communists" which makes even mild liberals subject to prosecution. It says:

HERBERT BROWNELL
The laughter may be short

> "Moreover, if the present categories of front and infiltrated organizations turn out to be too restricted, new ones can and undoubtedly will be created. Having moved from action and front organizations to infiltrated organizations, the Act could next be extended to groups which are 'contaminated,' 'tainted,' 'tinged,' and finally, 'politically unreliable.'"

Warning that "repression cannot be contained," the petition said:

> "What began as a drive against the Communists has inexorably led to the victimization of thousands of non-Communists, who have been persecuted, dismissed from their jobs, blacklisted, ostracized, barred from public platforms, deported, denied the right to leave or enter the country, and otherwise persecuted."

4 THROWN OUT: In addition to the CP, the SACB has taken action against nine other organizations as "fronts." Cases against four of these have been dismissed on the ground that they are no longer in existence. Three others, the Labor Youth League, the Jefferson School of Social Science and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, are appealing—or plan to appeal—orders that they register. Hearings have been concluded against the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship but the Board's recommendations in that case have not yet been announced. Hearings are currently being conducted against the Civil Rights Congress.

In spite of the challenges against the Internal Security Act, Atty. Gen. Brownell is planning increased use of it. On June 1, in his annual report on enforcement of the law, he announced that in the coming year he hopes to compel some 30 organizations to register under the law as Communist "fronts" and also to prove that several trade unions are "infiltrated."

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

lations with the U.S.S.R. and China. Recently, Japanese and Soviet diplomats met in London "to prepare the ground for peace and trade negotiations" (N.Y. **Times**, 6/12). The **Times** commented editorially (6/3) that Washington has "good reason" to "watch with some uneasiness the negotiations now taking place in London" since "the Japanese are not in a strong position. The Russians are."

Behind Washington's uneasiness is what Joseph Alsop, in a series of articles written in Tokyo (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/27 & 29, and 5/2 & 4), called "the present poisoned atmosphere" of U.S.-Japan relations. He described Japan's "growing anger" at the U.S. "repressed for the present . . . by highly practical considerations" but liable to "burst forth with quite astonishing force" if the repression is removed. In contrast is the attitude toward China, described by Mary Clabaugh Wright, Curator of the Hoover Library's Chinnese and S.E. Asia collections, in the Vassar Alumni Magazine (2/55):

> "There is in Japan today little evidence of fear or even apprehension where Communist China is concerned. On the contrary, the 'tone' of opinion is warm and friendly. A great deal is written about China—in newspapers, magazines, and books. . . . Whatever the particular writer's view, he starts from the assumption that Communist China is a major power, here to stay, the leading country of Asia today. . . ."

DISARMAMENT: Washington's stand on disarmament is as untenable today as its policies on Germany and Japan. Even Western commentators are virtually unanimous in pointing out that the demand for an end to the threat of nuclear and thermonuclear war is becoming an almost irresistible tide. But U.S. officials, as **Newsweek** reported (6/6), "find the Soviet proposals [on disarmament] almost entirely unsatisfactory." Some of these proposals, it added with unconscious irony, "were lifted bodily from suggestions previously submitted by the West."

Washington, said **Newsweek**, will insist upon "a gradual approach to disarmament with ultimate goals set a long way ahead." Washington, in other words, will continue to block disarmament as it has for the past nine years. But it is worried, as numerous commentators have underlined, that the U.S.S.R. will make "offers that appear reasonable on the surface."

THE YUGOSLAV TALKS: Support for some key Soviet proposals, which appear reasonable to much of W. Europe, has already come from Yugoslavia. A joint Yugoslav-Soviet communique issued at the conclusion of the Belgrade talks, endorsed normalization of relations, non-interference in internal affairs, promotion of trade and co-operation. It also stressed:

- The need for an all-European collective security system.
- Outlawing of nuclear weapons and promotion of peaceful uses of atomic energy.
- China's legitimate rights to Formosa and UN membership.

While Washington professed to be "relieved" that the Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation had gone no further, plans for early Western talks in Belgrade were scheduled. Washington also was reported soliciting an invitation for Vice President Nixon to visit Belgrade (N.Y. **World-Telegram**, 6/4). James Reston (**NYT**, 6/3) revealed that the Yugoslavs' UN delegation has complained of being shadowed by FBI agents.

ITALIAN CRISIS: In Italy the struggle between the growing forces that want to pursue a national policy, taking Italy out of the Atlantic Alliance, and those whose power rests on Washington's support is sharpening. The Scelba government, impotent to make key decisions, is presiding over an increasingly chaotic situation as it maneuvers to keep in power, with Washington's help. In anticipation of the Sicilian elections, the U.S. transferred to Italy $50 million worth of surplus cotton, wheat and tobacco; the World Bank approved a $70 million loan to finance industrial, agricultural and power expansion in regions including Sicily. Italians, commented **NYT** (6/4), "are unlikely to believe that this concentration of events is fortuitous."

Francois in Tribune des Nations
ALICE IN WONDERLAND
"How do you know I'm mad?" asked Alice. "You must be," said the cat, "or you wouldn't be here."

Premier Scelba's Christian Democratic Party increased its vote in Sicily from 31.2% in the last regional election in 1951 to 38.6%; the increase was at the expense of the Monarchists, Neo-Fascists and the smaller parties of the Scelba coalition. The Communist Party got 20.8% of the vote and the left wing Socialists 9.7%, for a total of 30.5% compared to 30.2% in 1951. The Christian Democratic gains were expected to aid the Scelba government in the confidence vote, demanded by the right parties and scheduled for June 10.

OIL-DRENCHED POVERTY: But Italy's basic problems remain. In Sicily, for example, the **NYT** (6/4) found "signs of desperate poverty" with large scale unemployment in the sulphur mines. Increasing control of Italy's oil resources by such U.S. companies as Standard Oil and Gulf is rousing bitter resentment.

The Christian Democratic party is split: only recently one of the leaders of its left wing, Nennis Savanti, appealed to other Christian Democrats to prevent Scelba from "jeopardizing Italy's international interests." Otherwise, he said, existing cracks inside the party would widen. The two non-communist labor federations are involved in a bitter battle which, if continued, will almost inevitably strengthen the Communist labor federation which has recently lost a series of factory elections.

Christian Science Monitor, Boston
Top challenge for the pitcher

THE TRAVELERS: The slow turn toward a new world alignment was also apparent in the journeys abroad of India's Premier Nehru and Burma's Premier U Nu, two of Asia's leading neutralists. Nehru, on the eve of his departure for the U.S.S.R., declared that his country "has much to learn from Russia," and reiterated his belief that the principles of national integrity and peaceful co-existence, enunciated in the India-China agreement, "should serve as the basis of relations between all countries."

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See you at the BIG GUARDIAN WEEK-END AT WINGDALE LODGE
Fri.-Sun., June 24-26
See Page 9

MAY AFFECT HUNDREDS OF CASES

State Dept. gives Dr. Nathan a passport to avoid a court test on its policies

PROF. Otto Nathan's two-year effort to obtain a passport has ended in significant victory. The State Dept. on June 6 issued him a passport to avoid a court test of its passport application procedures. Last week Federal judge Schweinhaut supported Prof. Nathan's claim that the State Dept. had not complied with the judge's order two months ago to give him an appropriate and prompt hearing. Judge Schweinhaut then specifically accused the State Dept. of "dilly-dallying, delaying tactics" and ordered it to issue a passport immediately.

The State Dept. asked the Federal Court of Appeals for a stay of the order. In an unprecedented ruling, the three appellate judges (Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton, David L. Bazelon and George T. Washington) temporarily stayed Judge Schweinhaut's order, asked the State Dept. to give Prof. Nathan "a quasi judicial hearing . . . with opportunity provided to the Government and to [Nathan] to offer evidence" by July 7. It directed the State Dept. to grant or deny a passport to Prof. Nathan within 15 days after the hearing.

THE FIRST TIME: Agreeing with Judge Schweinhaut that Prof. Nathan "was never accorded an evidentiary hearing," the Appeals Court also directed that

". . . if a passport is denied, the State Dept. immediately either (A) inform this court and the appellee with particularity of the reasons for such denial or (B) show cause to this court with particularity for any failure to supply such reasons."

The issuance of the passport thus enabled the State Dept. to avoid a hearing where it had to back up its charges. In a statement Dr. Nathan said:

". . . the action vindicates the fundamental right of every American citizen to travel. It is bound to establish a precedent in the case of hundreds of others denied the right to travel. . . . The action also shows the importance of compelling the State Dept. to support its 'allegations' by evidence in an open hearing."

Legal experts believe this is the first time a court has prescribed rules for a State Dept. hearing. The State Dept. has always claimed that the denial of a passport and the reasons for such denial were the sole concern of the executive branch of the government.

In his latest affidavit Prof. Nathan asked for prompt action on his passport case because, as executor of Albert Einstein's estate, he had to go to Europe to help assemble and preserve important scientific documents. He also planned to attend the July 11-16 Jubilee of Relativity Theory at Berne to which Dr. Einstein had been invited.

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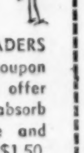

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POT IS READY TO BOIL OVER

French bumbling into new 'Indo-China' in No. Africa

RECENT EVENTS in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and the Cameroons have demonstrated France's determination not to "abandon its place in N. Africa despite attacks on it at the Bandoeng conference as a colonial exploiter of the N. African natives" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/22). U.S.-sponsored NATO armed forces are being used to suppress liberation movements in colonies. France is still following the policy of brutal repression (see box, this page) and grudging concessions where repression fails.

In Tunisia (area 48,300 sq. mi., pop. 3,600,000) France has reluctantly compromised with several leaders of the Neo-Destour (New Independence) party, allowed exiled party leader Habib Bourguiba to return home. The 150-page agreement extends local power to the government of the Bey of Tunis, keeps Tunisia in the French monetary zone, leaves the army, foreign policy and the police in French hands, bristles with guarantees for the French settlers.

Although the red and white Tunisian flag flew for the first time since 1881, Bourguiba said that internal autonomy was "only a step toward independence" (N.Y. **Times**, 6/2).

INVITATION TO VIOLENCE: Despite the agreement the outlook in Tunisia remains uncertain. The agreement is yet to be ratified by the Bey of Tunis and the French Assembly, where the settlers have a powerful lobby. **Presence Francaise**—a settlers' association—has refused to accept any compromise and has invited French and other European residents of Tunisia

> ". . . to unite to prevent the application of all measures interfering with their dignity, their persons or their wealth and those of their Tunisian friends" (**NYT**, 5/30).

The Neo-Destour is not united behind Bourguiba; an important segment supports the exiled party secy.-gen. Salah Ben Youssef, who plans to return home from Geneva to unite the party for "Tunisia's only goal: total independence" (Tunis **as-Sabah**, 5/28).

MOROCCO RESISTS: In French Morocco (area 153,870 sq. mi., pop. 8,540,000), the independence movement has grown stronger despite brutal French efforts to suppress it. Moroccans have refused to pay homage to pro-French Sultan ben Moulay Arafa, whom the French put in power after deposing the more independent Sultan ben Youssef. Last April, during a visit by Pierre July, French Minister for Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs, the powerful Istiqlal party declared a strike. The **NYHT** (4/25) reported:

THIS IS HOW TUNIS TURNED OUT TO WELCOME HOME HABIB BOURGUIBA

The Nationalist leader had just ended three years of exile in France

> ". . . thousands of Casablanca shops, including food stores in native quarters, stayed closed. People . . . had to use the black market or to slip into European neighborhoods to shop, but native business men . . . obeyed the strike orders almost without exception. Mr. July made no effort to conceal his distress at the demonstration."

As the death toll and arrests mounted in Morocco, July recommended that the French government try to replace Sultan ben Moulay Arafa with a prince acceptable both to the pro-French elements and the Moroccans.

CAMEROONS—UN APPEAL: In the French Trust territory of the Cameroons (area 166,489 sq. mi., pop. 3,055,000) violence flared last month. The **UP** reported (5/29):

> "Helmeted French troops, mopping up after the violent outbreaks that claimed at least 50 victims . . . arrested numerous natives today charged with incitement to revolt."

The people of the Cameroons—divided between British and French Cameroons—have been regularly petitioning the UN for unity and independence. A petition last November described their condition:

> "If you want to know the general situation in our country, the workers who weep in their agony alone can tell you of its horror and its poverty—forced labor . . . wrongful dismissal, unlawful encroachment on our lands, the use of prisoners as houseboys . . . insufficient schools, lack of dispensaries, heavy and uncontrolled taxation . . . intimidation of fathers, school children and married women . . . failure to apply the Labor Code, and considerable delay in paying the workers employed by the Forestry Companies. . . ."

On April 22 three Cameroons organizations (the Peoples Union, Democratic Youth, and Democratic Union of Cameroons Women) jointly called for general elections before Dec., 1955, for a Constituent Assembly; a provisional government now to prepare for the elections; and "a UN Commission to supervise the creation of the organ of the State." On May 29 and June 1 the UN Trusteeship Council received cables from the Peoples Union accusing French forces of "massacring" the people and urging the Council to help unite British and French Cameroons temporarily under a UN High Commissioner.

ALGERIA IS TENSE: In Algeria (area 847,500 sq. mi., pop. 9,000,000), governed as an integral part of France, the situation grew so tense early this year that even the "beni oui-ouis" (Algerian yes-men fraudulently elected to the government) protested vigorously (**Christian Science Monitor**, 2/7). Violence has increased since. **Newsweek** (6/6) reports that Paris has been quietly transferring 10,000 troops a month from Indo-China to Algeria.

Two weeks ago the French decided to send one of its NATO divisions—reinforced with motorized elements from the Third Infantry—to Algeria, without asking for the required NATO High Command's approval. "This decision seems to mean," the N.Y. **Times** said (6/3), "that Belgium could send her forces to the Congo or the Netherlands her forces to Guiana without . . . consent."

Three months ago in the Paris **Tribune des Nations** Colonel X wrote (3/11) that the French were proceeding militarily in Algeria along the same lines which proved so disastrous in Vietnam. In the face of this blind policy **Newsweek reported:**

> ". . . French officials [in Algeria] admit privately a real and crucial war is on—one they may lose even when more reinforcements arrive from Paris."

REFINED TORTURE IN NO. AFRICA

The Gestapo could have learned a few tricks

Following are excerpts from an article entitled "The Gestapo at Work" in the clandestine Algerian publication "La Voix du Peuple" (1/16):

". . . Taken to the police station, the [person] accused [of incitement to violence] is first stripped naked (no Algerian is ever questioned clothed) and then placed in the midst of 4-12 policemen, arrogant and fuming with racial hatred. One slaps his face, another snuffs out his cigarette on the accused's hip . . . a third gives him a few light blows with a ruler on the genitals; a fourth ridicules his physique or utters insults to his wife or sister; finally they all overwhelm him with punches and kicks and blows to the ear, inflicting a mass of injuries.

"Only after administering this 'hors d'oeuvre' do they ask certain questions or flatly give him a document to sign. . . . If the accused knows nothing and refuses to sign a false declaration, the 'Boss' tells one of the policemen to take the accused 'To Number One.' This means the first system of torture, the bath (the French Gestapo in Algeria has 13 systems of torture; the Nazi Gestapo apparently had only 10, according to torture commissioner Touron of Algiers).

"Two to four beefy cops take the naked accused—his hands bound in front of him with a wet rag—into a room where there is a bathtub full of ice water, filthy since it also serves as the policemen's urinal. The torturers force his knees between his arms and insert the handle of a pickaxe as a kind of cotter pin among the four limbs bent as far as the joints will permit. Then the police toss him into the bathtub, letting the pickaxe handle rest on the sides so that the body of the accused can pivot freely.

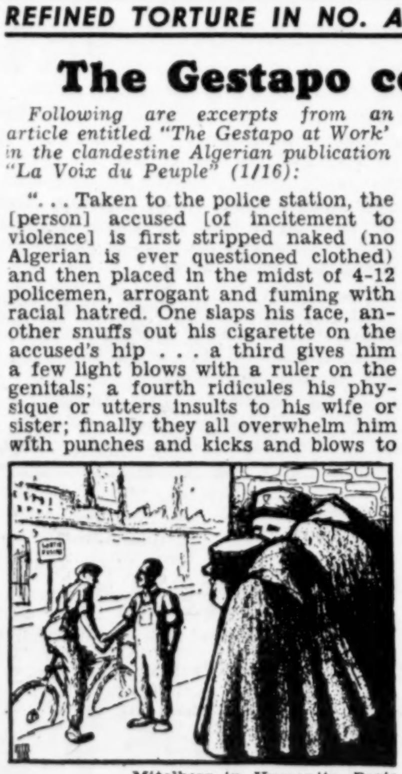
"Then the questioning follows. One torturer holds the accused by the hair and says, 'OK, you s. o. b., will you sign?' If he answers 'no,' his head is plunged into the liquid and is withdrawn only to revive him (if he passes out) or to ask him the same question. The operation is repeated over a period of one to two hours. . . . If this doesn't work it is replaced by another system which also has its number." (Such as the medieval torture of the rack and the modern one of electric shock.)

According to the **Christian Science Monitor**'s correspondent Edmund Stevens (3/7), a group of leading citizens of Lyon, France, including prominent clergymen and Parliament members, addressed an open letter to the Moroccan Affairs Ministry and asked:

> "Is it true, as was stated in the hearing of Dec. 1, 1954, that during the police investigation, 45 [Moroccan] prisoners were confined for more than 25 hours in a room measuring about 10 feet square, and that 14 of them died? Is it true that torture was used on the prisoners for the purpose of obtaining admissions?"

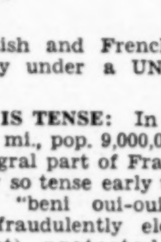
Stevens then corroborated the accusations by giving details of the mass trial of "85 Moroccans accused of participating in the Oujda riot of Aug. 16, 1953." During the trial, Stevens wrote, the prosecutor, without contesting the accusations of torture, objected that they "were not germane to the present trial"; defense lawyers, appointed by the court, "were bombarded by threatening letters and phone calls advising them to get out of town."

Eventually 15 defendants were sentenced to death, 12 to life at hard labor, others to jail 5 to 20 years; 18 were acquitted.



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

". . . Wait till we get the Algerian by himself . . ."



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BOOKS

'Mickey Spillane' in Kenya—and the antidote by a British Quaker and a Kenyan patriot

By Kumar Goshal

DURING THE LATE 19th century and early 20th, the Rudyard Kipling literary school urged empire builders to "take up the White Man's Burden . . . on fluttered fold and wild" to rule over "Your new caught, sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child."

With imperialism as thoroughly exposed as it is today, it would seem that any one wishing tc justify it would do it with some subtlety; but Robert Ruark has thrown all the hoary ingredients of the Kipling era into h novel **Something of Value.**

LONG AND CRUDE: Ruark's 566-pag novel deals with white settlers among the Kikuyus in Britain's Kenya colony shortly before and during the Mau Mau rebellion. The story is simple to the point of crudity. English Peter McKenzie and African Kimani grow up together on the McKenzie ranch. When Peter's prospective brother-in-law slaps Kimani to put him in his proper place, Kimani reverts to his superstitious beliefs by taking it as an evil omen, attempts to kill the settler, runs away to the slums of Nairobi an later becomes a Mau Mau leader.

Meanwhile, Peter becomes a famou hunter and guide. He spends his free time in hard drinking and amorous activities with air-line hostesses. Soon after he marries the Mau Mau rebellion erupts, atrocities are perpetrated on white people by Africans; the settlers retaliate, with Peter as a leader. The story ends with Peter tracking down Kimani and choking him to death.

LOADED: In his foreword Ruark declares that his "is not a political book" and, although it is fiction, "the skeletal structure rests on stony fact." Nevertheless, **Something of Value** is loaded with implicit and explicit political comment and thoroughly biased in favor of the white settlers. Ruark cannot avoid responsibility for the comments by saying that his characters—not he himself—are making them. He obviously sympathizes with his characters, and presents no alternative comments.

The leading white characters own the best land, although how they acquired the land is never clearly explained. They are paternalistic towards the Africans, slow to anger, hard-working, generous; the Africans are depicted as lazy, superstitious, simple-minded at best, with "a basic impulsive savagery" which "civilized" white people don't understand — in short, Kipling's "half-devil and half-child." To these moldy ingredients Ruark has added a modern touch by drenching his book in blood and padding it luridly with sex. In the hunting section, for example, without relevance and merely to titillate the reader, Ruark stages a long parade of homosexuals, sexually maladjusted couples and unsatisfied women looking for satisfaction.

RELISHES BLOOD: The savagery and killings, both of animals and human beings, are described coldly, in minute detail, with special emphasis on the genitals. "With what seems like gloating relish [and] tacit approval," as the **N. Y. Times'** Orville Prescott said in his devastating review, Ruark describes in gleeful detail the white settlers' obscene atrocities on the Africans. These atrocities, reminiscent of Ku Klux Klan lynching-bees, far exceed in violence and variety the terrorism of the Mau Mau: Peter and his friends gouge the eyes of Africans, pluck out palpitating hearts, slowly pull and slice off tongues, hack out brains, saw off heads, mutilate bodies.

Ruark slanders without evidence anthropologist and Kenya African leader Jomo Kenyatta (now in jail and unable to retaliate) as the brains of the Mau Mau terrorism, drags an incredible Russian and an equally incredible Indian conspirator advising the Mau Mau, to give a "communist" twist to the rebellion. Without proof he says that Kenyatta's book on Kikuyu tribal life, **Facing Mount Kenya,** contains the blueprint of the Mau Mau terrorism, adds that the book's preface was written by "a Russian" but does not disclose that the Russian, B. Malinowski, was professor of anthropology at London University.

ROUNDUP: A COMMON SIGHT IN KENYA
On the elevation stand the British colonial police

A RACIST SPILLANE: The inaccuracies, the speculations presented as facts, are too numerous to mention here. Had it not been ballyhooed so much and advertised as the Book-of-the Month Club's May selection and a prospective Hollywood movie, there would be no sense in reviewing it. Since it is destined to receive wide circulation, it should be pointed out that the piled-up obscenity in **Something of Value** might be excused as stark realism if the author were not totally lacking in compassion. As it stands, this novel is only a calculated compendium of Mickey Spillane, horror-comic violence with a racist twist.

Quaker antidote

AN EXCELLENT ANTIDOTE to Ruark's novel is British Quaker Reginald Reynolds' **Cairo to Cape Town,** appropriately subtitled "A Pilgrimage in Search of Hope." Reynolds traveled slowly through Africa, observing keenly and noting his impressions in felicitous language. Though impressed by much solid accomplishment in Egypt, he shrewdly remarks that the Nasser regime is getting nowhere because it has "no philosophy: all was improvisation." Unlike other Western travellers, Reynolds lived as much as possible with Africans and Indians, observed the constructive work they were doing on their own initiative and often against government opposition, gives dramatic description of these activities studded with sketches of the lives of leaders and people involved.

Reynolds presents valuable material on Uganda, whose Kabaka (chief) was exiled by Britain; the trade unions in the Rhodesias and the nationalist movement in Nyasaland; S. Africa, where incredible government persecution made even the pacifist author think that "the main hope of Africans lay in their own capacity to exert pressure by methods other than 'constitutional.'"

GENUINE COMPASSION: He was in Kenya at the time Ruark writes about; but he tells the sorry story of land expropriation by white settlers as well as the heart-wrenching tale of indigenous schools and co-operatives built by Africans but liquidated by the government. He presents documented statistics to show that the white settlers' retaliatory atrocities far exceeded the Mau Mau terrorism.

Reynolds' book has what Ruark's lacks: genuine compassion for exploited peoples, identification with their dreams and aspirations. **Cairo to Cape Town** is a thoroughly worthwhile and illuminating book.

A Kenyan speaks

FROM THE STANDPOINT of Kenya, an even better antidote to Ruark's book is Kenya African Union president Mbiyu Koinange's **The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves.** This is a short book, dealing primarily with the constructive educational and economic activities undertaken by Africans, in which Koinange played a leading part and which have been smashed by the government. The strength of this book lies in its simplicity, authenticity and the valuable photostats and other documents in the appendix.

Koinange describes the birth of the educational movement and the Kenya Teachers College, to which women contributed greatly in money, material and labor. He tells the story of humble people as well as of leaders like Njeri of the African Women's League, who is now in jail. Pointing out that KAU meetings were always open and "without exception orderly," he comments:

> "When you suppress open mass meetings . . . it is ridiculous to complain of secret meetings in the forest."

Koinange's sober conclusion is applicable to all colonial countries in Africa and elsewhere:

> "It is obvious today that the [white] settlers in Kenya will never be able to rule Kenya on the old basis. . . . Without winning the confidence of the Africans, they cannot stay in Kenya at all except with the actual military support of the British Government. This is not a threat. It is a fact. I hope they will see that or if they don't, their friends elsewhere will bring it home to them."

SOMETHING OF VALUE by Robert Ruark. Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N. Y. 566 pp. $5.

CAIRO TO CAPE TOWN by Reginald Reynolds. Doubleday. 370 pp. $5.

THE PEOPLE OF KENYA SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES by Mbiyu Koinange. Kenya Publication Fund, 600 Woodward Av., Room 500, Detroit 26, Mich. 116 pp. 25c a copy, $2 a dozen, plus 50c postage.

A POET FACING PRISON WRITES

'Sonnets of Love and Liberty'

By Annete T. Rubinstein

Author of "The Great Tradition in English Literature from Shakespeare to Shaw."

IN ADDITION to all the other difficulties under which progressive writers labor today—difficulties poets have to contend with in their most extreme form—the poet also faces at least one additional major problem from which the novelist and dramatist are relatively free. That is the problem of finding a form and language familiar and clear enough to reach a general audience, without depending on symbols whose emotive effect has been dissipated by generations of dishonest misuse.

A simple example from the more popular art of the sloganeer—whose need for words with concentrated emotional force and universal significance is not dissimilar to the poet's—illustrates this problem. No seven words could more exactly have expressed the over-all purpose of the anti-fascist war than "to make the world safe for democracy." Yet no publicist dared to use a phrase so discredited by its misuse a generation before.

BROWS OF GRACE: So in an age when a ranking Catholic prelate commends the "Christian love" of the informer Judas, and when "land of liberty" means a land in which men are imprisoned for their thoughts, it seems almost impossible to use the simple, clear and passionate words on which direct poetic communication so largely depends.

But the greatest poet of all said "tho all things foul should wear the brows of grace, yet grace must still look so." And Walter Lowenfels, a poet who today awaits sentence under the infamous Smith Act, has shown the courage of that poetic conviction in the very title of his **Sonnets of Love and Liberty.**

These 34 sonnets dedicated to Peace "the loveliest prisoner of our time," and beginning with a most unusual and valuable analysis in the timely opening lines "For Albert Einstein," are effective and successful in varying degrees, but they are all uniformly warm, sincere and courageous. The love of comrades distant as Kenyatta or close as his wife Lillian, immortal as Debs or young as the author's children, is inextricably intertwined with a detailed delight in nature made more poignant by the heavy shadow of prison bars.

A PEOPLE'S CULTURE: It is significant that not only writers but, even more, other artists, struggling with similar problems of communication in such sister arts as music, dance and painting, have recognized the heroism of this effort to reclaim for the common man his lyrical heritage. Diego Rivera generously expressed his appreciation. He wrote:

> "I joyfully hail the appearance of **Sonnets of Love and Liberty** and I embrace its author, who has revived the potency, force and grandeur of the great North American people's national culture with his poems. In them he reaffirms these beautiful truths: 'but even now tomorrow has begun—' and 'Already half the world is with the stars. China lifts up the earth and signals us: tomorrow is already ours to share—.'"

SONNETS OF LOVE AND LIBERTY by Walter Lowenfels. The Blue Heron Press, 47 W. 63 St., N.Y.C. 23, N.Y. $1.50.

SUPREME COURT'S DECISION

District courts given job of ending jimcrow schools

By Eugene Gordon

THE U.S. Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow public school decision of May 17, 1954, was based on cases from Delaware, Kansas, S. Carolina, Virginia, and Dist. of Columbia. The ruling said that in order to have

". . . the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket and the parties are requested to present further arguments. . . ."

Transcript of arguments, April 11-14, 1955, ran to 440 typed pages. The plaintiffs' attorneys, led by NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall, argued for abolition of school jimcrow "forthwith." The "defendants"—attorneys general for Southern states concerned—wanted enforcement delayed indefinitely. The Dept. of Justice, through Solicitor Gen. Simon E. Soboloff, summed up: "The government rejects both extremes."

THE OPINION: On May 31 the Supreme Court declared "these presentations [to be] informative and helpful." It reviewed progress made toward desegregation. Pointing out that the "personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a non-discriminatory basis" was at stake, the court acknowledged "a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision."

Its conclusion was that courts of "first instance"—lower federal courts in affected areas—must take over the job of desegregation. It said it hoped the district courts would see to it that local school authorities would "start toward full compliance" soon.

SOUTH'S REACTION: "The South responded with mixed feelings," according to the N.Y. **Times'** (6/1) John N. Popham in Chattanooga. He said:

"Generally, the view throughout much of the South was that the region had been given a green light to attempt to solve its knotty problem at the grass roots level free from 'outside' imposition of a master blueprint or a rigid dictum. . . . Generally, the initial impact of the court's implementation decree produced a temperate reaction in the South that appeared to forecast considerable maneuvers at the state leadership level to determine what methods should be evolved in meeting any hearings in Federal District Courts in the months ahead."

The high court's failure to give segregation in the schools a firm deadline disappointed anti-segregationists and stirred rebel whoops from Dixiecrats. Ex-Gov. Talmadge of Georgia said desegregation wouldn't be "feasible in Georgia for a long, long time." Georgia's present Gov. Griffin said he would maintain jimcrow "come hell or high water." Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) registered defiance for his state.

THIS IS THE REALITY OF INTEGRATION
A scene in a kindergarten in Washington, D. C.

Southern states showing a willingness to go along with the ruling are Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, president of the Mississippi NAACP Conference, said:

"It looks as if the Supreme Court doesn't believe in our Constitution either. The ruling will do some good but it requires a lot of litigation on our part that could have been avoided had they rendered a forthright decision."

FALL DEADLINE: National officers of the NAACP were more hopeful, expressed gratification at the ruling and saw "nothing in the language of the opinion which sustains the view of some Southern states that delay in compliance may be of indefinite length."

In a strategy meeting June 4 NAACP delegates from 16 states wrote their own deadline into the court's ruling: next September. Branches were told that desegregation was now a matter for federal courts and NAACP attorneys would open suits in any state that fails to take concrete steps toward integration in the fall. Georgia's Griffin said:

"If they try to force integration during the summer, getting ready for the fall term, I have no other alternative under the laws of Georgia . . . but to withhold all public funds."

NAACP's Board of Directors made it clear they expected "the whole American people" to put pressure on the reluctant states "to open up new avenues of democracy for all the children of our nation."

'Who's to sit next to who' in Virginia?

VIRGINIA Circuit Judge Leon M. Bazille ruled last week that Hanover County could not legally use its school-bond money for buildings to house integrated Negro and white pupils. This ruling invalidated bonds which the county sold for $1,000,000 in 1953 to pay for "separate but equal" public school construction. Result of the ruling is that neither Negro nor white children will be helped.

Judge Bazille termed "erroneous and worthless" the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. But the Ashland (Va.) **Herald Progress** reported a white mother's remark that "it seems a shame that a little question like who's to sit next to who has to stop the school program it took us 10 years to get going."

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Fri.-Sun., June 24-26
See Page 9

NEW YORK

31,000 forced to sign loyalty oath by June 24 or get out of federal housing; evictions to be fought

By Elmer Bendiner

SOME 30,100 families in New York City last week faced this ultimatum: Forfeit their right to associate in organizations of their own choice, sign a "loyalty oath" and swear they are not now members of any of the 303 organizations on the Atty. General's list—or lose their homes.

The oath-forms went out by mail last month to all families living in housing built wholly or partly with Federal funds. By June 1, the deadline for return of the signed oaths, 21,651 had been received by the City Housing Authority. On June 2 CHA employees began personal delivery of the oaths to tenants who had not yet signed.

CHA officials say they will begin evictions on June 24 of those who do not sign.

A 1952 RIDER: The "loyalty" program, which began with government employes in "sensitive" jobs, in 1952 entered the homes of Americans having no connection with the government, with the tacking on of a rider to an act appropriating money for public housing. The author, Westchester GOP Congressman Ralph Gwinn, had opposed all public housing as causing "moral degeneracy," FEPC legislation as infringing on an employer's "freedom." He found the poll-tax acceptable. Sensing that public housing could not be killed in 1952, he proposed an amendment requiring loyalty oaths from all tenants in such housing.

He made it clear his rider was not merely vindictive; it was to prevent tenants from organizing. During the debate he said:

"A favorable device of these Red-led, low-cost housing tenants to foment trouble, for their own political and propaganda purposes is the formation of tenant leagues, under various titles, to attack [Housing] Authority policies and practices worked out from long experience for the common good. . . . Projects because of the great many occupants and the availability of assembly halls and associations . . . might easily be used for the organization and activities of groups hostile to the public interest."

A GRIM PORTENT: Until the Gwinn amendment political screening had been justified as a necessary defense of the government—even if it invaded a person's rights. Early this year **Federated Press** traced the amendment's grim significance:

"Now persons considered to be security risks can be discriminated against on the ground that taxpayers' money is involved. The same logic, of course, would justify excluding individuals from the public schools or from the streets or parks or museums . . . local and state authorities can require a loyalty oath before one is allowed to drive down a public thoroughfare."

The amendment stirred legal battles around the country. California's appellate court ruled it unconstitutional. Wisconsin and Illinois have frustrated any attempt to enforce the amendment, although the Illinois Supreme Court based its decision on the narrow ground that the Chicago Housing Authority was not empowered to enforce the law. The Washington, D. C., test case. "Rudder vs. U. S.," since it had no state courts to cope with, was the first to reach the Federal courts and is now pending in the U. S. Court of Appeals.

THE LADDER: Mrs. Rebecka Peters of the Williamsburgh project in Brooklyn made the legal test for N. Y. State. In 1954 her attorney Paul Ross argued the case up to N. Y.'s highest court which ducked constitutional questions and sent the case down the ladder for retrial to determine whether or not Mrs. Peters and her fellow project tenants were covered by the Gwinn Amendment.

Ross, aided by friend-of-the-court briefs from the N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, has argued the case up again to the State Court of Appeals which is due to rule next fall.

Meanwhile ACLU attorneys last week seemed uncertain whether the Gwinn amendment, even if it were constitutional, is actually in force since the 1954 housing appropriations act carried no such rider. N. Y. courts have ruled, however, that when Gwinn tacked on his amendment in 1952 it was meant as a permanent fixture.

In that shaky legal setting, the City Housing Authority moved to enforce the amendment with eviction threats. The Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court on May 31 refused to grant a stay on eviction notices, and no legal step can now prevent the eviction attempts.

TEST CASE SEEN: The CHA's ultimatum spread indignation. The agency's figures of tenants signed up indicated that the June 24 deadline might still find hundreds, perhaps thousands, in defiance. In that case ACLU officials said they would be prepared to go into court to fight the eviction of any one who sought their help. Some tenants have already conferred with the ACLU.

Mrs. Peters led a delegation from more than ten federal projects to City Hall last week. The demonstration, sponsored by the United Project Tenants Organization, found the Mayor out. (He was conferring with Gov. Harriman and preparing for his European tour.) In a statement left with one of the Mayor's aides, the UPTO denounced the oath as making public housing tenants "second-class citizens," and seeking to stifle tenant organization.

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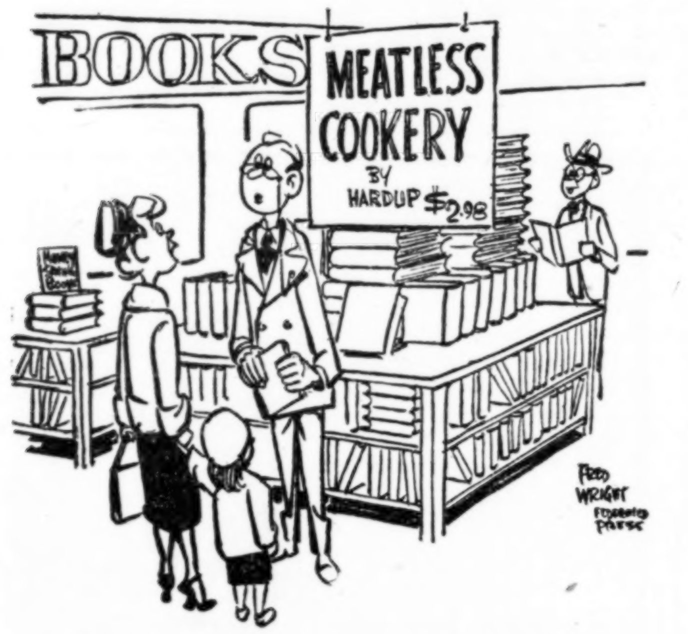
Have you written to Atty. Gen. Brownell on the Belfrage Case yet?



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AFTERMATH

Newark goes witch-happy, then sobers up

NEWARK WAS STILL reeling in the wake of last month's New Jersey junket by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The inquisition was aimed primarily at the independent United Electrical Workers and at public school teachers. It jeopardized the jobs of a number of UE workers, cost the jobs of three teachers who took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit the committee's right to probe their politics, sideswiped a score of other witnesses and led to threats of denaturalization and deportation against at least two.

On May 24 the City Council in special session passed an oral resolution requiring the 7,000 city employees to take loyalty oaths and fill out elaborate questionnaires asking among other things whether they were ever members of any of the 303 organizations listed by the Atty. General as "subversive."

SET ASIDE TO COOL: The resolution urged similar oath requirements by public bodies affiliated with the city such as the Board of Education, Housing Authority, Newark Museum, the public library and the city's College of Engineering. The Council in a runaway witch-hunt mood urged the state legislature to pass a law outlining ways of dealing with public employes alleged to be Communists.

Councilman Samuel E. Cooper proposed that the questionnaires be followed by an investigation of all employes. Even before the special session ended the councilmen had misgivings. Some thought Cooper's resolution looked like a "witch-hunt" and set it aside for cooler deliberation at the Council's regular session.

City Personnel Officer Samuel B. Finkelstein, without waiting for second thoughts, mailed out the questionnaire, requiring an immediate notarized return.

COOPER BACKS DOWN: Newarkers and New Yorkers were apparently shocked by the speed with which the councilmen took to the hunt. The N.Y. Times, commenting editorially, asked:

". . . is our devotion to democratic government so weak and uncertain that it has to be propped up by special formulae carrying an uneasy implication that we Americans are disloyal to our historic principles unless we can prove otherwise?"

By the time the Council met in regular session on June 1 the fever had died down. Councilman Cooper, who on May 27 proposed a thorough investigation of city workers, moved to table his own resolution. When he went further and asked that questions of affiliation with organizations on the Atty. General's list be deleted from the questionnaire, he was ruled out of order.

RESISTANCE: Representatives of the state CIO Council and the Newark branch of Americans for Democratic Action denounced the oath and the questionnaire at the public council meeting, contending that they violated democratic principles and were ineffective in dealing with "subversives."

The Library Board received the questionnaire and oath forms from the city but tabled any action on distributing them, indicating the city was not completely thrown off-balance.

AT THE MEWS

Ellen Volly is one of a fine interracial cast currently featured in "Two For Fun" at the Greenwich Mews Theatre, 141 W. 13th St. The program consists of two one-act plays: a comedy by Anton Chekhov, "The Anniversary," and a new farce on the cold war by Lola Pergament, "A Switch In Time." Performances are Wednesday through Sunday at 8:45 p.m. Admission by contribution.

NEW YORK MEETING JUNE 16

Many cities to hold memorials for Julius & Ethel Rosenberg

TWO YEARS AGO Ethel and Julius Rosenberg went to their deaths in Sing Sing prison. The executions shook the world as few deaths had since Sacco and Vanzetti.

Around the country the Rosenbergs would be remembered this week not as a lost cause but as a battle still being fought. Center of that fight is Morton Sobell, fellow-victim of the Rosenberg frame-up, now serving his fifth year of a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz.

Public meetings calling for Sobell's freedom are scheduled this week in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Tucson, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Vancouver, Toronto and throughout Europe.

The anniversary week will see publication by Cameron & Kahn of the most definitive book yet written on the subject, **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** by John Wexley. It runs 672 pages, including photostats of the most significant documents in the case.

N. Y. MEETING: The book will be on sale in New York at the Sobell Committee's meeting in Carnegie Hall, Thurs. eve., June 16. Mrs. Morton Sobell and artist Rockwell Kent are scheduled to speak. The meeting will feature a new dramatic presentation, "The Innocents" and a new musical composition, "In Memory of Two Martyrs." Timed with the Carnegie Hall rally, the Sobell Committee announced publication of a new song in memory of the Rosenbergs, "Come Place A Red Rose," by Edith Segal.

Pledges to continue the fight came from around the world to committee offices, 1050 Sixth Av., in advance of the meeting. Included are messages from Vicente Lombardo Toledano, secy. of the Confedn. of Latin American Workers, Janet Jagan of the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana, Prof. J. Hadamard, prominent French educator.

U. S. GOVT. ON TRIAL: Rev. C. W. Chandler, Anglican Dean of Waikato, Hamilton, N. Z., summed up comment abroad:

"The issue as I see it, is not so much whether this person or that person is vindicated, merely for the sake of that person, but that the United States government is on trial before the court of world-wide public opinion."

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois wrote the committee:

"In my later years I have come to realize that our jails are full of innocent men and that persons of whose innocence I have not the slightest doubt, like Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, have been judicially killed for no crime.

"For this reason I am astonished and indignant that Morton Sobell is in jail, when the accusations against him have never been proven, when his accusers for the most part are self-confessed liars and when the courts have never given him a fair chance to prove his innocence. This nation can never be a democracy until he receives a fair trial."

•

See you at the Guardian Weekend at Wingdale Lodge June 24 to 26.

Free Morton Sobell

"Neither death nor Alcatraz will keep the truth hidden. I will never be forced to bear false witness." —**Morton Sobell**

Remember the ROSENBERGS

"History will record the truth and give the public a chance to right the wrong done us."
Ethel & Julius Rosenberg

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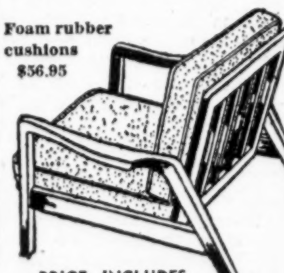

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ELLIS RUBIN QUITS

Florida votes down witch-hunt bill

ELLIS RUBIN, bright young Special Asst. Atty. Gen. of Florida who aspired to be his state's own Roy Cohn (GUARDIAN, May 30), last week, like Cohn, was off the public payroll. On May 16, a committee of the State Legislature so resoundingly struck down a witch-hunting bill he sponsored that he quit his job in high pique the next day.

The committee vote was 16 to 4 and came after several committee members roundly denounced Rubin; Rep. Boone Tillet Jr. charged he was "reckless with human rights" and said he was "not worthy to hold a position of public trust." (Rubin was originally hired by the State at the direct request of the American Legion).

In announcing his resignation, the Miami attorney said he would either return to private practice or become an instructor in a military academy "where I can train the minds of young men in the ways of right and wrong without any double talk." But first he planned to go into the home counties of each of the 16 legislators who voted against him and publicly attack them for their action.

SMALL-BORE: His initial blast was against Rep. Henry Land in Orlando. Most of the 16 blasted back defiantly and said his campaign against them was proof that they were right in defeating him. Said Rep. Orr of Dade County (which includes Miami):

"I want to assure the people of Florida that this reckless small-bore McCarthyite does not express the sentiments of the people of Dade County. I as a Representative am embarrassed that another Dade Countian should impugn the character and loyalty of the fine men with whom I am serving."

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"What have you got that will make the world seem better and the people nicer, that can be sold without a doctor's prescription?"

Defeat of the Rubin bill was preceded by a storm of criticism. The measure would have set Rubin up as a super-investigator with wide powers of subpena, the right to conduct secret hearings, the authority to offer witnesses immunity, and the privilege of making public anything he learned at any time he liked. It also called for a $110,000 appropriation.

"NO PRESENT THREATS". The Miami **Herald** pointed out:

"Even Sen. Joe McCarthy's committee did not have such powers of investigation of Communists, fancied or otherwise, as this bill would confer. . . . There are no present Red threats to warrant the extremes which the bill advocates."

A **Herald** columnist called the bill "downright dangerous" and said "it's ag'in the very principles of democratic rights of human beings."

Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin had supported the bill on the ground that it offered "protection" to those under investigation. He complained that the State's "Little Smith Act," adopted in 1953, contains no provisions for keeping witnesses' names secret or for holding closed hearings. He said:

"Unless it passes this bill, I want the legislature to either repeal the 'Little Smith Act' or take me out of it. There is no way to protect the innocent now."

•

As in other cases of unhorsed McCarthys, the messes they leave behind are not easily cleaned up. During the mass persecution of Dade Co. progressives last year by Dist Atty. Brautigam based on Ellis Rubin's list of Florida "subversives," attorney Leo Sheiner, former Florida head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, invoked the Fifth Amendment during questioning by the grand jury.

Rubin filed a "suggestion" of disbarment against him and Judge Giblin did the disbarring forthwith. The Florida Supreme Court, which has already quashed contempt indictments against the other Miami victims, now has before it an appeal from Judge Giblin's disbarment of Sheiner. Attorney John Coe of Pensacola presented and argued an amicus brief from the National Lawyers' Guild opposing disbarment; former U. S. Senator Herbert O'Connor (D.-Md.) presented and argued an American Bar Association brief backing up Rubin and Judge Giblin.

Peace is up

THE Wisconsin **Agriculturist & Farmer** took three polls—Dec., 1950, Jan., 1954, and Jan., 1955—on whether Wisconsin farm people thought we would get into a war with the Soviet Union. The results:

1950
yes, 66%; no, 14%; no answer, 20%
1954
yes, 36%; no, 40%; no answer, 24%
1955
yes, 31%; no, 38%; no answer, 31%

The magazine's comment: "Maybe that can be taken as a hopeful sign."

NEW YORK CALENDAR

MUST TEACHERS BE INFORMERS? (Citizen meetings called to protest the N. Y. C. Board of Education resolution).

•

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 8 P.M.
They are your schools. If you want to do something about it, attend one of the following meetings—

•

Manhattan: Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. Dr. Corliss Lamont, Celia Lewis Citron, Frank Donner.

•

Bronx: Pilgrim Hall, 1800 Grand Concourse. Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, Victor Rabinowitz, Arthur Newman.

•

Queens: Duo-Art Academy, 107-50 Queens Blvd. Elinor Ferry, Cyril Graze, Joseph H. Crown.

•

Brooklyn: Church of the Holy Trinity, 157 Montague St. Royal W. France, Dr. Charles Collins, Rev. William Howard Melish.

★

Auspices:
Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.
421 7th Av., N. Y. 1 OX 5-2863
Admission: 50c
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15—8 P.M.

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A Full-Length Version of
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A Program of Old Favorites
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Free Refreshments
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YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
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CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. June 10-12: **"THE BRIDGE AT SAN LUIS REY."** Film adaptation of Thornton Wilder's Pulitzer novel, in which the collapse of a bridge in Peru links the fate of eight people. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: Starting schedule of Sat. night showings only, with **"AS YOU LIKE IT."**

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An invitation to
DANCE UNDER THE STARS
at our Penthouse Party.
Lillian Goodman, songs. Buffet table. Sat., June 11, 8:30 p.m., at 59 W. 71st St. Penthouse Apt. 10A. Cont. $1.25. Justice for Morton Sobell Fund.

HOLD JULY 10th WIDE OPEN
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FESTIVAL AND PICNIC

PARTY-SUMMER SOIREE
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Book Review and Social
MURRAY KEMPTON'S "PART OF OUR TIME"
Reviewed by Irv Beinin
SAT., JUNE 11th—8:30 P.M.
Entertainment Refreshment
863 B'way (nr. 17th St.) Cont. 50
Auspices: American Socialist

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(Sweet Edgar, oh Edgar! Do you mind what I read?)

Bill

Morrison to speak at Einstein tribute

PROF. PHILIP MORRISON, physicist of Ithaca, N. Y., will speak at the Memorial Tribute to Albert Einstein at Town Hall, New York, Sat. eve., June 18. Among the other speakers will be Mr. B. Z. Goldberg, columnist of the **Jewish Day & Morning Journal** and Joseph Brainin, journalist.

The Memorial is being arranged by the Albert Einstein Memorial Committee of Societies and Landsmanshaftn. There will be artistic tributes by Morris Carnovsky, actor; Arnold Eidus, violinist, and the Jewish Young Folksingers conducted by Bob DeCormier.

Tickets are available at Biderman's Book Store, 175 2nd Av., and from J. Rothman, Brighton Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., B'klyn.

See you at the Guardian Weekend at Wingdale Lodge June 24 to 26. **See page 9.**

RESORTS

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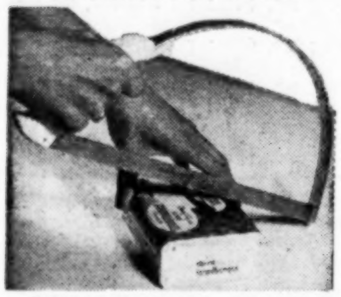

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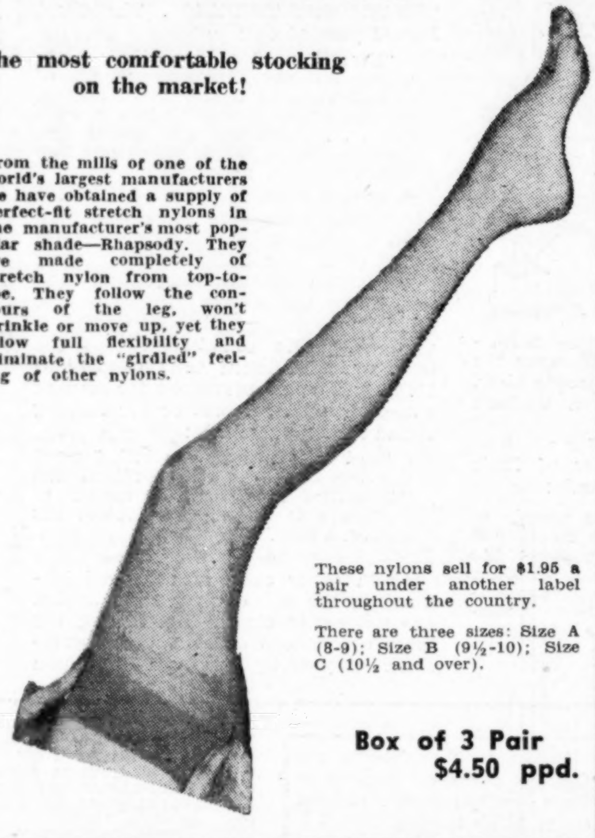

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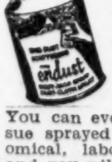

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the SPECTATOR

The Editor has a dream

From the West St. Federal House of Detention in New York, the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage wrote a letter to his colleague James Aronson which contained the following colloquy:

AFTER SUPPER YESTERDAY the talk—to the usual accompaniment of "Davy Crockett" and the Rheingold jingle on that most fiendish of torture devices, the radio you can't turn off—veered from jail food to jails around the world. My friend, Inmate X, spoke of one he was in, on a Pacific island, where they shut the place up and let you go home every week-end.

What with this, and the thought of Memorial Daying on our favorite island of Nepenthe* off Long, and the big story of the Russian-Yugoslav chats on Brioni—and the weight of the jail beans on my stomach—I dreamed strangely last night. I was with my old lady on Nepenthe, furloughed for the week-end in her custody, and who should blow in by supersonic jet but Gen. Ike. It seemed that talks for the relaxation of tensions between us had been arranged.

Blowing the froth off a dry beer—of which, he remarked, he always thought whenever he'd buy beer—the Gen. began:

"Now I want to apologize for all the stuff we've been throwing at you—about your being a spy and a Kremlin agent in World War II in Germany and all that. Actually it was all Joe McCarthy's idea and we would have sent him to the doghouse if he hadn't sent himself. Put it there, old comrade."

"Well, I said, "it sure is good to know you haven't forgotten I worked on your team against the Nazis."

"The team spirit will in the future, as it has in the past, secure against all who would undermine it the perpetuation of our way of life," said the Gen. "Under God, of course," he added.

"That is a noble sentiment," said I. "But do you get the best out of the team by throwing the book at those of its members who carried out the agreed and directed strategy, and honoring and promoting those who defied the captain?"

The Gen. seemed distracted and, taking out an iron, swung at a puffball and sliced it into the bay. "Remember what happened in Yugoslavia in 1948," he said. "Our way of life is threatened by a new godless tyranny which . . ."

"Now you're quoting Joe McCarthy," I interrupted. "I thought you said he was in the doghouse?"

"I can't make any comment on that until all the facts are in," said he.

"Well, is that what you wrote to Zhukov in your last letter?" I asked.

"I can only say this, that I have corresponded with my old comrade-in-arms," said the Gen. stiffly. "The world hungers for peace and for our part we tirelessly pursue it—under God, of course."

I POURED VODKA from a bottle handily at my elbow and we drank a toast to peaceful co-existence. "To come to the point," said he, "our country needs every hand on the plough in this battle to the death for the very survival of civilization. I have supreme confidence in our team, in Foster and Allen and Herbert and Edgar and Arthur. If we agree to forget old scores, will you join up once again with our psychological warfare team?"

I toyed with my glass and said: "Just one question. What are the team's ideas on how peaceful co-existence may be obtained?"

"Now," said he, "that question involves many factors and it might not be fitting for me to attempt a definitive answer at this time. But I do say this . . ." He looked around as if searching for an aide who was not there.

"For the moment," I said, "we might possibly begin the relaxation of tensions on the economic level. I have given many thousands of dollars to the government to pay for my own prosecution under the Walter-McCarran Act, and I think the government owes me some of it back."

The Gen., lost in the pursuit of his last thought, did not seem to hear me. ". . . I do say this," he finally cried with deep conviction. "Not one child shall go without the vaccine for lack of ability to pay."

End of dream, and so you can see what confinement does to the psyche. However, in general, I am still on an even keel.

—Cedric Belfrage

* A Greek word meaning "freedom from sorrow."

Come, Trueblood, let us get this straight

In a resolution adopted by the delegates at the closing business session, the American Council of Christian Churches called for the "immediate removal" of Dr. D. Elton Trueblood, director of religious information for the U. S. Information Agency. It charged he is using his position to promote "peaceful co-existence" policies."
—Memphis Commercial Appeal,

And what about Dr. Elton Trueblood, new chief of religious policy for the U. S. Information Service? If we are going to have any national religious policy, it ought to be primarily one of learning to understand sympathetically and appreciatively the various religions of the world we propose to lead. Instead Dr. Trueblood commits a monumental error with his own jingoistic interpretation of Christianity contained in his plan to launch a "card-carrying Christian" movement. . . .
—The Progressive, May, 1955.

HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO BROWNELL TO GRANT BAIL TO CEDRIC BELFRAGE?